

**Comintern 7th World
Congress Part 9: The Revolutionary
Movement in the Colonial Countries**

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**The Revolutionary Movement in the
Colonial Countries**

Report Delivered by WANG MING

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*A Revised and Augmented Stenographic Report of the Speech
Delivered on August 7, 1935, at the Seventh Congress of the
Communist International*

The report on the fascist offensive and the tasks of the Communist International in the fight for the unity of the working class against fascism was made at our historic Seventh Congress by one to whose voice careful attention is being paid by millions of workers, Communist as well as Socialist and unorganised, and by the best and foremost intellectuals of the entire world. This report was made by one whose historic victory at the Leipzig Trial is a living embodiment of the fighting power of the united front of the working class in the fight against fascism, and at the same time is an indisputable proof of the weakness and instability of the Hitler régime—by our beloved Comrade *Dimitrov*.

In this pamphlet I shall dwell on questions of the revolutionary movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries—particularly in China and India—as well as on the tactics of our Communist Parties, and shall attempt to deal explicitly with that part of Comrade Dimitrov's report which treats of these subjects.

**I. THE INTENSIFIED OFFENSIVE OF IMPERIALISM
AND THE GROWTH OF THE FORCES OF COLONIAL
REVOLUTIONS**

First of all, what is there new in the economic and political conditions of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, or to be more precise, what are the most distinctive basic features which characterise the economic and political situation in the colonial world during the period which has elapsed between the Sixth and the Seventh Congresses of the Communist International?

The first feature is the intensified offensive along the entire front of imperialism against the colonial and semi-colonial peoples. Everyone knows that capitalism has succeeded in somewhat easing the position of its industry not only by means of an intensified exploitation of the workers and farmers in the home

countries and by war and inflation booms, but also at the expense of the peasants in the colonies and the economically weak countries.

How does the increasing offensive of imperialism against the colonies and semi-colonies along the entire front during this period manifest itself? It is manifested mainly in the following:

First, imperialism is openly carrying on a widespread military expansion with the aim of the outright seizure of the territory and destruction of the national existence of the semi-colonial peoples. The brazen aggression and robbery on the part of the Japanese militarists in China and the war of the Italian Fascists against Abyssinia are two glaring examples of this. It should be noted in this connection that the wars between the countries of Latin America, between Bolivia and Paraguay, for example, which have been going on with certain intervals for a number of years, are in essence wars—in a masked form—between English and American imperialism for the repartition of that continent.

Second, the economic expansion of imperialism in the colonial and semi-colonial countries is increasing by means of a still greater reduction in the prices of the products of labour in these countries, mainly of raw materials and foodstuffs, by means of dumping and the forced reduction of customs duties in the semi-colonial countries. The imperialist powers which export to the colonial and semi-colonial countries reap the benefits from this and the so-called national industry, which is eking out a miserable existence anyway, is the loser. The following facts may be cited as examples: Beginning with the summer of 1933, on the direct demand of the Japanese imperialists, customs duties in China on Japanese textiles and other goods were reduced; on the demand of the American imperialists, customs duties on American manufactured goods were reduced by 35 per cent. in Brazil and by 30-60 per cent. in Cuba, etc.

Third, imperialism is intensifying its struggle against the striving of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples for national emancipation, and supports the most reactionary and corrupt groupings with the aim of rendering its economic, political and military expansion easier to accomplish and more thoroughgoing. Imperialism does not limit itself to carrying on a relentless struggle against the national-liberation movement which is truly representative of the people—to direct and indirect imperialist intervention against the Chinese Red Army, the bloody suppression of popular uprisings in Indo-China by French imperialism, etc.—it also follows the policy of overthrowing national-reformist

governments (for example—the Grove government in Chili and the Grau San Martín government in Cuba) and of creating reactionary dictatorships, which are hostile to the people, as for example, the Uriburu dictatorship in Argentina which was later followed by the Justo dictatorship; the Benavidez dictatorship in Peru; the Mendieta-Batista dictatorship in Cuba, etc.

All these facts which testify to the growing military, economic and political expansion of the imperialists in the colonial East, in Latin America and in Africa brought about a situation in which:

1. The national existence of a number of semi-colonial peoples is directly threatened;
2. The economies of the agrarian colonial and semi-colonial countries are shaken to their very foundations, millions and tens of millions of peasants have died and are dying of hunger and because of so-called "acts of god" (floods, drought, etc.) which in reality are the consequences of the regime of the imperialists and their native agents (this is especially evident in recent years in China and other colonial countries);
3. The national industry of the colonial and dependent countries, which has been created prior to and during the last world economic crisis of capitalism, is experiencing a profound crisis (during the world economic crisis there was a temporary and partial growth of light industry, primarily of the textile industry, in a number of these countries), and the financial and monetary systems in a number of semi-colonial countries are completely bankrupt;
4. The employed workers lead a miserable existence; thousands and tens of thousands of unemployed—both workers and intellectuals—are dying of hunger; artisans and other strata of the urban petty bourgeoisie are being completely ruined and pauperized. Suicides have assumed mass proportions (for example, according to statistical data published in the foreign and Chinese bourgeois press, six million people committed suicide in Kuomintang China during the past year).

All these facts—which are direct consequences of growing imperialist expansion—have objectively led in the colonial and semi-colonial countries:

1. To an increase in the national discontent with and indignation against imperialism and its native agents, giving rise to the most favourable conditions for the creation of an anti-imperialist united front of the broadest masses of the population;
2. To a certain accentuation of the antagonisms between the colonial and the imperialist bourgeoisie, between the competing imperialist powers and, finally, between the various groups and

strata of the colonial bourgeoisie and the landowners, creating the possibility of utilising these contradictions for the development of a mass revolutionary movement;

3. To a weakening in the influence of national-reformism among the masses; to splits among a number of national-reformist bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties and groupings; to the formation in these parties of national-revolutionary Left wings and, what is particularly important, to the growth of the role and influence of the proletariat and its Party.

As examples of this growth we can cite the following facts. During the period under review the young Communist Party of Indo-China has already taken part in the armed uprisings of the population as an independent political force; Communist Parties have been formed in a number of countries in the East, in the Philippines, in Siam and in a number of Latin American countries—Peru, Paraguay, Venezuela, Costa-Rica, Panama, Porto-Rico, Haiti, etc.

All that we have said brings us to the second, most characteristic, basic feature which distinguishes the situation in the colonial and semi-colonial countries during the period which has elapsed between the Sixth and Seventh Congresses of the Communist International—the growth of the forces of colonial revolutions.

The victorious development of the Soviet Revolution in China, the mass armed uprisings against imperialism in Indo-China, the tremendous sweep of the liberation movement in the countries of Latin America—primarily, the revolutionary struggle in Cuba—the mutiny in the Chilean Navy, and the growing national-revolutionary movement in Brazil, the mutiny in the Dutch fleet in Indonesia (*De Zeven Provinciën*), the upsurge of the workers' and peasants' movement in India, the armed struggle of the peasants in the Philippines, the growth of the strike movement in Korea (the Genzan strike in particular), the mass strike of oil workers in Persia, the wave of armed uprisings in the Arabian East, the development of the revolutionary struggle among the hundred million Negroes, the armed resistance to the Italian forces in Abyssinia, which is finding a wide sympathetic response from the peoples in the colonial countries of Africa and the Near East, etc.—a mere enumeration of these revolutionary events which took place during recent years is sufficient to show clearly the awakening of the masses of toilers in the colonial and semi-colonial countries on an unprecedented scale, and to show the growth of the fighting power of colonial revolutions.

It is necessary to emphasise with all seriousness the fact

that the growth of the forces of revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries is the result not only of the increased general offensive of imperialism and the sharpening of the class struggle in these countries, but also of the direct and enormous influence of the Great October Revolution in general and of its further historic victories during the First and Second Five-Year Plan periods in particular.

The final and irrevocable victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., the industrialisation of the country, the collectivisation of agriculture, the raising of the material and cultural living standards of the masses of the people, the development of the national cultures of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R., including the former colonial peoples of tsarist Russia, the strengthening of the defensive powers of the U.S.S.R., the enormous increase in the importance of the U.S.S.R. in world politics, the transformation of all its toilers into members of Socialist society enjoying equal rights, and the broadening of Soviet democracy—all this serves the peoples of the colonial and economically weak countries as concrete historical examples of how to transform their countries from economically backward, agrarian countries into leading industrial countries; how to transform their countries—the objects of constant attacks by imperialist vultures—into countries which can defend themselves, which can repel any attack by external enemies; how from oppressed and uncultured peoples to become free and cultured.

It follows from all this that:

1. The evaluation of the economic and political situations in the colonial and semi-colonial countries and of the prospects for their further development which was given by the Sixth Congress of the Communist International has been fully and completely corroborated. On the other hand, the theory of the Social-Democrats and the renegades (Roy and others) about "decolonization" has been just as completely shattered as their theory of "organised capitalism."

2. The evaluation of the world situation which was given by Comrade Stalin at the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. and by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International—"the revolutionary crisis is maturing and will continue to mature," "the capitalist world is entering a period of sharp clashes as a result of the accentuation of the internal and external contradictions of capitalism"—fully and completely corresponds to the contemporary international situation, and to the situation in the colonial countries in particular. It is evident from this that the position of Social-Democracy and of the renegades that evaluate

the present situation as the "beginning of a new era of fascism" and see for the future only the "prospect of black reaction" is entirely without foundation. "... the enormous world of colonies and semi-colonies has been transformed into an unquenchable flame of the revolutionary mass movement," "for world imperialism the colonial countries are, at the present time, the most dangerous sector of its battle front"—this characterisation given by the Sixth Congress of the Communist International beyond question sounds even more convincing and well-founded to-day.

II. THE ESTABLISHMENT, THE EXTENSION AND THE STRENGTHENING OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT TASK OF THE COMMUNISTS IN THE COLONIAL AND SEMI-COLONIAL COUNTRIES

It is precisely in connection with the growing imperialist expansion along the entire front in the colonial and dependent countries, precisely in connection with the growth of the national-liberation movement of the oppressed peoples against imperialism that the question of the anti-imperialist united front in all the colonial and semi-colonial countries assumes, as has been very correctly pointed out by Comrade Dimitrov, exceptional importance. In order to bear this out, let us point to some of the most important colonial countries. Despite the fact that the national-liberation movement in these countries progresses unevenly, that the relationship between the class forces in the various countries is unequal, that the power and importance of the proletariat and its Communist Parties in the political life of these countries vary and that *the anti-imperialist united front tactics are therefore applied differently in each of these countries—these tactics nevertheless assume primary importance for each of these countries.*

CHINA

Some people think that since the Soviet Revolution has already been victorious on a considerable portion of the territory of China and since the class struggle has become unusually acute, the question of an anti-imperialist peoples' front is no longer of any importance, or is of no particular importance. This is a grave error. The facts testify to just the contrary. The facts have clearly indicated and are indicating that in present-day China the question of the anti-imperialist united front is not

only of primary importance but is, I might say, of decisive importance.

This is explained by the fact that China is passing through an *unprecedented national crisis*. This unprecedented national crisis has been evoked in the first place by the growing military, political and economic expansion of Japanese imperialism and by the unexampled, infamous national treachery of the Kuomintang. During the time which has elapsed since the Manchurian events (1931), i.e., in less than four years, almost half of the territory of China is either occupied by Japanese imperialism or is actually under the iron heel of Japanese militarists.

After Manchuria—Jehol, after Jehol—the zone around the Great Wall and Shanhaikwan, after Shanhaikwan and the strategic points along the Great Wall—the so-called "Nantung demilitarised districts," after the "Nantung demilitarised districts"—the actual occupation by the Japanese military forces of the Hopeh, Chahar and Suiyuan Provinces. The plan for the complete abolition of China as a state, which was outlined in the Tanaka Memorandum,¹ is being systematically carried out.

During the past years, Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Ching-wei, Chang Hsueh-liang and other traitors to the fatherland—Huan Fu, Yan Yuntei, Wang Yi-teng, Chang Chuin and other agents of Japanese imperialism—sold out one Chinese province after the other under the policy of "non-resistance," accepted one Japanese demand after the other. At the same time, all these traitors, hiding behind demagoguery concerning "the necessity of first achieving internal peace and then resisting the external enemy," are carrying on a bloody war against their own people and are suppressing every mass attempt to repel Japan and to save the fatherland. Lately, under the slogan of "co-operation between China and Japan," these traitors to the fatherland are carrying on such an openly corrupt, infamous, capitulating policy that it is unprecedented in the history of China or in the history of the entire world.

The Japanese imperialists demanded the removal of the troops of Yu Hsu-Chun, Sun Chei-yuan and others from North China—all these troops were immediately removed to the South and the West to conduct a fratricidal war against their own people. The Japanese imperialists demanded the removal of numerous Chinese political and military officials—every person mentioned was immediately removed from his post. The Japanese imperialists

¹See "Japanese Imperialism Stripped." (Modern Books, Ltd.)

demanded the removal of the Hopeh provincial government from Tientsin—the entire government apparatus was immediately removed to Paoting. The Japanese imperialists demanded the cessation and the suppression of undesirable Chinese newspapers and magazines—all the newspapers and magazines mentioned were immediately stopped and suppressed. The Japanese imperialists demanded the arrest and punishment of the most varied editors and correspondents of Chinese newspapers and magazines—all the persons mentioned by them were immediately arrested and thrown into prison. The Japanese imperialists demanded that a servile system of Japanophile education should be instituted in Chinese schools and colleges—immediately the foremost Chinese literature was burned, many honest young men and women who refused to become slaves of an alien state were arrested and a number of them were shot. The Japanese imperialists demanded that Japanese advisers be invited to all Chinese government institutions—Japanese spies immediately made their appearance in military, political and financial institutions of the Nanking government. The Japanese imperialists even demanded the dissolution of Kuomintang organisations—and the local organisations in North China and Amoy were immediately dissolved. The Japanese imperialists demanded the dissolution of the "Blue Shirt" League—its leaders, Tsin Kuan-chin and Chan Sao-hsian, immediately fled from North China.

If this state of affairs will continue in the future, then clearly our other provinces along the Yangtze River, in the valley of the Chunkiang River, etc., will gradually be seized by the Japanese imperialist vultures. Our country which possesses a culture that is five thousand years old, the oldest in the history of mankind, will in this way be wholly transformed into a colony; and our nation, which has a population of 450,000,000, the largest nation in the world, will be completely enslaved.

Can the great Chinese nation further endure this state of affairs? No, it cannot. Just look at the twelve million people of Abyssinia who are defending their fatherland with arms against occupation by Italian Fascism. Can the 450,000,000 people of China do other than fight for its national existence, for its independence as a state, for its territorial integrity, and for its human rights and liberties? *No, it cannot but fight. The Chinese people have fought, are fighting and will continue to fight for all this.*

The question is put squarely: *either to resist the offensive of Japanese imperialism—and then there is life; or to renounce*

resistance against the external enemy—and that is death. In connection with this the struggle for the organisation of resistance to Japan and for the salvation of the fatherland has long become the sacred duty of every citizen, every son and daughter of our fatherland. Under the conditions of the growing national crisis there is no other means of saving China than the general mobilisation of our entire great nation for a decisive and relentless struggle against imperialism. At the same time, the Communist Party has no other means for the general mobilisation of the entire Chinese nation for the sacred national-revolutionary struggle against Japanese imperialism than the tactics of the anti-imperialist united people's front.

In recent years the Communist Party of China has applied and is applying the tactics of the anti-imperialist united front. The Communist Party of China applied these tactics in the struggle of the Red Army, which repeatedly addressed itself to all the military units of Kuomintang China with offers of concluding a fighting alliance for a joint struggle against imperialism, stipulating only the following elementary, strictly businesslike conditions: the cessation of the offensive against the Soviet districts, the extension of democratic rights to the people (freedom of the press and of speech, the right to have unions, the right to organise, to hold demonstrations, to strike, etc.) and the right to organise and arm volunteer anti-Japanese detachments. The Communist Party of China applied these tactics during the heroic defence of Shanghai in the beginning of 1932: the Communists fought in the front lines, shoulder to shoulder with the soldiers of the Nineteenth Route Army and the population of Shanghai; the Communists organised a general strike of the workers in all Japanese textile mills in Shanghai in support of the Nineteenth Route Army; the Shanghai Party organisations organised armed detachments of workers and students to participate in the battles at the front and organised transport detachments, communication detachments, reconnaissance detachments, supply detachments, red cross detachments, etc., in order to assist the army and to render the rear secure; the Central Soviet Government of China, despite its grievous financial position, sent tens of thousands of dollars to assist the heroic anti-Japanese strike of the workers.

The Communist Party applied these tactics in the numerous heroic anti-Japanese battles in North China (around Shanhai-kwan, in Chahar, etc.) when the Communists and their adherents

fought at the front, shoulder to shoulder with the armies of Ti Hun-Kang, Fan Chen-wu, Sun Tien-yin and others.

The Communist Party of China has applied and is applying these tactics in Manchuria and Jehol, where in recent years the Communists appear everywhere as the initiators and organisers of the united front of all the partisan detachments and all the national forces for the struggle against the common deadly enemy—the Japanese army of occupation. It is precisely because of these tactics of the Communist Party that the numerous and scattered partisan detachments in Manchuria and Jehol have recently formed a union with the partisan detachments led by the Communists, for the creation of a joint military (general staff of the anti-Japanese armies, etc.) and political (people's power, etc.) leadership. This considerably strengthens and consolidates the fighting power of all the partisan detachments in Manchuria and Jehol. The Communist Party applied and is applying these tactics in all forms of anti-imperialist struggle throughout China—the boycott against Japanese goods, anti-imperialist demonstrations, strikes, etc.

It must, nevertheless, be stated with all seriousness that the Communist Party of China has not as yet succeeded in carrying out these tactics really consistently and without mistakes.

For example: during the heroic defence of Shanghai the Communist Party of China should have created the broadest united anti-imperialist front with all those who supported the armed struggle of the Nineteenth Route Army against the Japanese army of occupation. But, because of the erroneous stand of individual leaders of our Party who considered that the slogan "a union of workers, peasants, soldiers, merchants and intellectuals" was inadmissible, a really broad anti-Japanese people's front was not formed. The Communist Party of China should have organised a general strike in Shanghai and should have striven to attain the arming of the workers on the basis of a broad united front of all Red and reformist trade unions against Japanese imperialism. But, because of the Right opportunist sabotage and the "Left" sectarian errors of our trade union functionaries the slogan of the general strike was not realised and the arming of the workers, with the aim of sending them to the front, was carried out at a relatively slow pace.

Another example: The Soviet Government and the Revolutionary War Council addressed an appeal to all the people and to all military units to conclude a fighting agreement for a joint armed struggle against Japanese imperialism. (All foreign and

Chinese newspapers were forced to publish this appeal.) General Chen Chen, the commander-in-chief of the Kuomintang troops operating against the Red Army on the Northern front in Kiangsi, together with his commanders, demanded from Chiang Kai-shek that the war against the Red Army be stopped and that a fighting agreement be concluded with the latter against the Japanese army of occupation. In reply, Chiang Kai-shek, on the one hand, openly proclaimed that "anyone who persists in speaking of a struggle against Japan will be severely punished," and he removed General Chen Chen from his post. On the other hand, he was forced to publish his proclamation to the Red Army in which, in an attempt to justify his rejection of a joint struggle against Japan, he heaped the most barefaced accusations on the Red Army (absence of elementary human decencies, etc.). Under these conditions the Communist Party of China should have appealed to General Chen Chen and his troops, and to all other military units who desired to struggle against Japanese imperialism, with even more concrete proposals. It was necessary to continue the discussion with Chiang Kai-shek in order to expose him completely before the army and the people as a traitor to the nation. But, because of the inconsistency with which the Communist Party of China was carrying out its policy, it merely limited itself to a negative reply to Chiang Kai-shek, assuming that it had thus exposed him, and did not strive to achieve real, tangible results for an agreement with the Kuomintang troops on the basis of a united front directed against Japanese imperialism.

A third example. During the Fukien events the Communist Party of China should have proceeded from the fact that these events were a direct consequence of the Red Army's proposal to the Kuomintang troops to conclude a fighting agreement for a joint struggle against Japanese imperialism and its agent, Chiang Kai-shek, and that therefore it should have conducted itself towards the Nineteenth Route Army and the Fukien Government in all seriousness as towards an ally. But, because of the mechanistic approach of some of our Party leaders to the question of the struggle against the "attempts to find a third way, i.e., neither the Soviet nor the Kuomintang way, for the development of China," the Communist Party of China did not properly evaluate the political significance of the Fukien events. This led to our incorrect military tactics: instead of conducting an armed struggle against Chiang Kai-shek together with the Nineteenth Route Army, on the most important north-eastern front in

Kiangsi and Fukien, the military leadership of the Chinese Red Army decided to withdraw the troops from this front and to transfer them to the South and West in order to attack the troops of Chiang Kai-shek from the rear. They were thus unable to render serious and tangible assistance in time in the struggle of the Nineteenth Route Army.

Lastly: During the armed uprisings of the troops of Ti Hunkan, Fan Chen-wu and Sun Tien-yin against Chiang Kai-shek and Japan in North China, the Communist Party of China should have mobilised all its forces in the northern and other parts of China in support of these uprisings. But, because our functionaries in the North and in Shanghai did not understand and underestimated the importance of these events, we did not manage to establish new military anti-Chiang Kai-shek and anti-Japanese forces there.

Now it is clear to everyone that if the Communist Party had applied the tactics of the anti-imperialist united front in a really serious, consistent and correct manner throughout the period of these events, the political situation in China would have shaped itself even more favourably for the development of the revolutionary struggle of the broadest masses of the people against imperialism and its agents.

Such errors were, first of all, a consequence of the fact that many of our comrades did not understand and do not understand the new situation which has arisen in China in recent years. They do not understand how to advance the subject of the anti-imperialist united front in China in a new manner.

Basically, these new features can be summarised as follows:

1. The unprecedented national crisis called forth by the Japanese expansion and the treachery of the Kuomintang evoked the universal indignation of the people against the alien imperialists and their agents. In connection with this, the national-revolutionary upsurge of the broad masses is rising, and even very many army units of the militarists are disposed in favour of the sacred national-defensive war of the Chinese people against imperialism.

2. In recent years, the Red Army has grown into a mighty military factor throughout China. Only the Red Army comes out openly under the slogan: "A national-revolutionary war of the armed people against Japanese imperialism, in defence of the territorial integrity, independence and unification of China." Of all the anti-Chiang Kai-shek military forces only the Red Army is able to repulse successfully Chiang Kai-shek's repeated campaigns and to conduct a war against this arch traitor to the

Chinese people. In view of this, all the anti-Japanese and anti-Chiang Kai-shek political and military groupings—irrespective of whether they are moved by patriotic and national-liberation motives or simply because of militarist and imperialist traditions—cannot but consider the Red Army as the greatest factor in the armed struggle against Japan and against Chiang Kai-shek.

3. For the organisation and the successful carrying out of the national-revolutionary war of the armed people against the Japanese imperialists, the participation in this war not only of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, not only of all revolutionary-minded, class-conscious toilers, but also of the various political and military forces who are temporary, unstable and vacillating allies is necessary and unavoidable.

I believe that now, considering our previous positive and negative experiences, considering the present position of our country in which the national existence of our people is threatened—our Party, in this situation, must further develop its anti-imperialist united people's front tactics, consistently trying to achieve the most daring, extensive and most powerful range of this movement in order that the Chinese people should thus be able in the shortest possible time really to unite for the common struggle against imperialism and for the salvation of our fatherland.

How should these tactics of the Communist Party of China develop further? In my opinion and in the opinion of the entire Central Committee of the Communist Party of China our tactics should consist in a joint appeal with the Soviet Government of China to all the people, to all parties, groups, troops, mass organisations and to all prominent political and social leaders to organise together with us an All-China United People's Government of National Defence and an All-China United Anti-Japanese National Defence Army.

At the same time, the Communist Party of China should openly and solemnly proclaim before all the people that it welcomes the participation in this united people's government, together with representatives of the Soviet Government, of all those who refuse to be colonial slaves, of all soldiers and commanders who are ready to turn their arms in defence of their people and fatherland, of all parties, groups and organisations that want to participate in the sacred struggle for national liberation, of all honest young people from among the membership of the Kuomintang and the Blue Shirt League who really love their people and their country, of all Chinese emigrants who want to save their fatherland and of

all their brothers among the national minorities (Mongolians, Moslems, Koreans, Tibetans, Miao, Li and others) who are under the yoke of the imperialists and their agents—the Chinese militarists.

At the same time, the Communist Party of China should openly and solemnly proclaim before all the people that it welcomes the participation in the United Anti-Japanese Army, together with the Chinese Red Army and the armed anti-Japanese detachments in Manchuria, Jehol and North China, of all troops, all soldiers, all commanders and generals who are ready, with arms in their hands, to fight for the salvation of our fatherland.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet People's Republic solemnly declare before all the Chinese people and the public opinion of the whole world, that :

1. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the government of Soviet China are ready to take the initiative in carrying on negotiations with all parties, all groups, all public organisations, all local political and military organs, and all political and social leaders on the concrete measures for the creation of such a people's government of national defence, based on a mutually acceptable programme of struggle for an armed resistance to the external attack and the salvation of the fatherland, irrespective of the fact that between the Communist Party and the Government of Soviet China, on the one hand, and these parties, groups, organisations and persons on the other hand, there existed and exist political differences regarding numerous important problems in our country.

2. The Workers' and Peasants Red Army is prepared to be the first to enter this United Anti-Japanese Army and to fight for the salvation of our people, shoulder to shoulder with all military units. If the Kuomintang troops will discontinue their offensive against the Red Army and will readily begin an armed struggle against Japanese imperialism and its agents the Red Army will immediately reach them its hand for a joint struggle for the salvation of the fatherland despite the fact that they were and are divided by certain differences of opinion on internal political questions and irrespective of the fact that even at the present moment war is being waged between the Red Army and the Kuomintang military units.

The Communist Party of China should, moreover, openly place before all the people the question of the character of this People's Government of National Defence as a government whose principal task is to organise armed resistance to Japan and to save the fatherland. In connection with this, the political programme of

this government should be based on the following points, which reflect the common interests of all the people :

1. Armed resistance to Japanese expansion and the restoration of all occupied territories;
2. Assistance to the famine-stricken and major repair work on dykes for the struggle against floods and drought;
3. Confiscation of all property of Japanese imperialism in China and the transfer of this property to the people's government to defray the expenses of the anti-Japanese war;
4. Confiscation of land, rice, grain and the entire property of all traitors to the fatherland and agents of Japanese imperialism and the transfer of all this to the unemployed, the poor and the anti-Japanese fighters;
5. Abolition of all burdensome taxes and duties, regulation of the financial policy and monetary system and the development of the entire national economy;
6. Raising of wages and salaries and the improvement of the material conditions of the workers, peasants, military men and intellectuals;
7. Democratic rights and the liberation of all political prisoners;

8. Free universal education and a job for every graduate;
9. Equal rights for all nationalities inhabiting China, personal inviolability and inviolability of property, home and business of Chinese emigrants, both at home and abroad;
10. A union with all masses of the people hostile to Japanese imperialism (a union with the Japanese toiling masses, the Koreans, the people of Formosa, etc.); a union with all nations and states which sympathise with and support the national-liberation struggle of the Chinese people, and the establishment of friendly relations with all powers and nations that will maintain friendly neutrality in the war between Japanese imperialism and the Chinese people.

Some people think that such a proposal by the Communist Party of China bears, first of all, merely an agitation and propaganda character and cannot lead to tangible results. This is absolutely incorrect !

Our Party's proposal is based on wholly real objective and subjective factors. The objective situation of China eloquently speaks of the possibility of realising this type of proposal by our Party. To prove this I can enumerate any number of facts which, in no uncertain terms, portray present-day actuality in China. In this picture are clearly reflected all those movements and changes in the relation of forces in China which bear evidence to the fact that the idea of the necessity of saving the fatherland has already pervaded the minds of not only the broadest masses

of the Chinese population, but also of large sections of the Kuomintang troops and their commanding staff as well as of many prominent political and social leaders of China.

The following facts are indications of this:

1. In January, February and March 1932, the Nineteenth Route Army, consisting of Kuomintang units, heroically defended Shanghai against the Japanese imperialists. Prior to this, for a period of two to three years this army, by order of Chiang Kai-shek, waged war against our Red Army and was defeated several times. But after the Manchurian events of September 18, 1931, and especially in connection with the Japanese offensive against Shanghai and the unprecedented growth of anti-Japanese popular outbreaks, this Nineteenth Route Army, with its commanders—Tsan Tin-kai, Chan Kwan-liu, Wen Chao-yun and others—at its head, despite the orders of the Nanking Government, turned its arms against Japanese imperialism, thus writing one of the most glorious pages in the history of the Chinese people's struggle for emancipation.

2. During the Fukien events at the end of 1933 and the beginning of 1934, the Nineteenth Route Army, with the very same commanders at its head, having been convinced by bitter experience of the infamous national treachery of the Nanking Government and the Kuomintang (Chiang Kai-shek, for instance, sent his troops to disarm the Nineteenth Route Army during the defence of Shanghai; it was only because these troops went over to the side of the Nineteenth Route Army for a common struggle against Japanese imperialism that Chiang Kai-shek's plans miscarried), and enraged by the war against its own people, i.e., against the Red Army, concluded a fighting agreement with the latter for a joint struggle against Japanese imperialism and its agent—Chiang Kai-shek—and, not only again turned its arms against the enemy of the people—Chiang Kai-shek—but also openly proclaimed its withdrawal from the Kuomintang, and the organisation of the Fukien Government, independent of the Nanking Government. Even such well-known militarists as Chen Min-chu, Li Ti-shen and others took part in these Fukien events.

3. Anti-Japanese and anti-Chiang Kai-shek armed rebellions of Kuomintang Army Corps, led by Generals Ti Hun-kan, Fan Chen-wu, Sun Tien-yin and others, in North China in 1934. The best proof of the radicalisation of these army corps and of a part of their commanding staff is the behaviour of General Ti Hun-kan. While commanding the Thirtieth Kuomintang Army Corps

he and his corps, by order of Chiang Kai-shek, fought for two years against the Fourth Red Army on the Honan-Hupeh-Anhwei front. Impressed by the heroism of the Red Army and of the red partisans in their struggle of liberation, and enraged by the Nanking Government's continual betrayal of the interests of the Chinese people and the complete capitulation to Japan, General Ti Hun-kan began to realise the necessity of going over to the side of the people. Upon learning of this change in the frame of mind of General Ti Hun-kan, Chiang Kai-shek immediately recalled him under the pretext of sending him to Europe to study military science. When he returned to China, Ti Hun-kan began to make repeated requests of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to accept him into the ranks of the Party. The Central Committee accepted him into the Party. From then on he worked as a Communist, carrying out all instructions and following the directives of the Party. He utilised his money and property in the cause of the revolution and of the people. When his active work in collecting military and popular forces for the salvation of the fatherland stirred up all North China, Chiang Kai-shek, with the assistance of Japanese imperialism, organised an attempt on the life of Ti Hun-kan. Severely wounded, and lying in a hospital in the French concession in Tientsin, he was arrested and subsequently executed in Peiping by order of Chiang Kai-shek. The entire Chinese and foreign press reported that both Comrade Ti Hun-kan and his adherent, General Jen Yiu-chi, despite their injuries and their grave physical condition, conducted themselves before the Kuomintang court and at the time of their execution as staunch national heroes devoted to their fatherland. They died like true revolutionary fighters for the cause of the people. In court, both of them with great indignation loudly enumerated the untold crimes committed by the Kuomintang against the people and the country. Both died shouting: "Long live the Communist Party of China! Down with Japanese imperialism and its Kuomintang agents!"

Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Ching-wei and other traitors to the nation used Comrade Ti Hun-kan's entrance into our Party not only to justify their order for his execution as a "red bandit," but also in order demagogically to state to the people that the ranks of the Communist Party of China also contain a general and a militarist.

Yes! The Communist Party of China, by its strategy and tactics, its programme and its aims, is, first and foremost, the party of the working class. At the same time, the Communist

Party of China is the party of the entire Chinese people in the struggle for their national and social emancipation. The Communist Party of China is far from being ashamed of the fact that within its ranks there are individual prominent generals of the type of Comrade Ti Hun-kan. Quite the contrary, it is proud of this fact. It takes pride in this because it clearly shows that the Communist Party is the only party of national hope and national glory for all the Chinese people. And it is only our Party that can unite all the best, all the honest and all the revolutionary sons and daughters of the Chinese people who no longer want to tolerate the transformation of their country into an imperialist colony, the enslavement of their people and the death by starvation of millions of toilers.

The Communist Party of China takes pride in this because the authority and influence of our Party is so great that even generals and highest commanders of the Kuomintang troops, when they realise their duty to their country and their people, see their only way out and their only hope in the Communist Party of China. Finally, our Party takes pride in this because the force and influence of Marxism-Leninism, the educational power of the Communist Party and the weight it carries are so great that even a former general and a newcomer in the ranks of the Party like Comrade Ti Hun-kan could by his revolutionary behaviour and his heroic death show an example of the conduct of a real Communist, worthy of the trust of his Party and his people!

4. In 1933 a basic platform was published for the organisation of a national war of the Chinese people against Japanese imperialism, signed by thousands of people and headed by Soong Ching-ling (the widow of Sun Yat-sen). The platform contained the following concrete measures concerning the organisation of an anti-Japanese national-liberation war:

- (1) General mobilisation of all military units of China (land, air and sea) for a war against Japanese imperialism, and the cessation of all civil wars among the Chinese people;
- (2) General mobilisation of the entire Chinese people for this sacred war on the fronts and in the rear;
- (3) General arming of all the people;
- (4) The following measures for defraying the expenses of the war against Japanese imperialism:
 - (a) Confiscation of all property of Japanese imperialism in China and discontinuation of payments on Japanese loans;
 - (b) Confiscation of the property of all traitors to the nation;

- (c) Revenue from all state and local taxation to go to defray expenses of anti-Japanese wars;
- (d) Introduction of a progressive income tax;
- (e) A broad campaign to collect money within China, from Chinese emigrants and from all foreigners sympathising with the national-liberation movement of the Chinese people.

5. Creation of an All-China Committee of National Defence composed of democratically elected representatives from among the entire population. The Committee to have lower organisations and local committees;

6. A union with all opponents of Japanese imperialism (the Japanese toiling people, the Koreans, the people of Formosa, etc.) and the establishment of friendly relations with all nations and states that sympathise with the national-liberation struggle of the Chinese people or that will, at least, maintain friendly neutrality in the war between the Chinese people and Japanese imperialism.

The signatures of the initiators of and the adherents to this platform, both in China and abroad, clearly indicated the general national character of the document and the earnest desire of the Chinese people to fight with arms in their hands against the Japanese oppressors.

Can there be any doubt, in connection with the further accentuation of the national and social crisis and the further disgraceful capitulation of the Nanking Government to Japanese imperialism, that all that is best and most honest in Chinese society will rise with even greater force to the war for the salvation of its people and its country from enslavement by Japanese imperialism and its agents? Among the soldiers and the commanding staff of the Kuomintang troops as well as among present and former cadets of the Wampoa Military Academy and others—whom many people entirely incorrectly lump together and regard as supporters for Chiang Kai-shek—there were, are and will be not a few admirable young men who evince an ever greater desire and readiness to co-operate with the people and its Soviet Government and Red Army in the struggle against imperialism.

The feasibility of the proposals of the Communist Party of China is due not only to the objective situation of the country, but also to the growth of the subjective factors—the growth in the power of the Red Army and of the Soviets.

During the year and a half which has elapsed since the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., the Chinese Red Army has won a great new victory. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Central Soviet Govern-

ment of China the main forces of the Red Army in the former Central Soviet district of Kiangsi-Fukien not only successfully slipped through the strategic encirclement by Chiang Kai-shek's army, which was almost a million strong, but also broke through the enemy's ring on the southern and western fronts and accomplished the heroic march from Kiangsi to North-Western China. By passing through nine provinces, overcoming the difficulties presented by the high mountain ranges, lack of roads and mighty rivers (Wukiang, Yangtze, Ting Sha-kiang, Ta-tu-ho, etc.), by fighting through a distance of over three thousand kilometres, the main forces of the Chinese Red Army displayed heroism and accomplished military feats unexampled in the history of the Civil War. The Red Army carried out in time the general plan of crossing into Szechwan, joined forces with another principal part of the Red Army (the Fourth Army) in the vicinity of the city of Chengtu and, together with the Fourth Army, created a new Central Soviet district on part of the territory of the provinces of Kweichow, Szechwan, Sikang, Yunnan, Kansu and Shensi of such size and strength as was previously unknown. (See map.) The numerical strength of the Red Army in all Soviet districts not only did not decrease during the recent period of heavy fighting, but has greatly increased. According to data of the hostile foreign and Chinese press the numerical strength of the regular troops of the Red Army is to-day already approaching the half-million mark.

Furthermore, formerly a number of large groups of the Red Army (2nd, 4th, 6th and other army groups) were scattered and were not connected with each other. Now, they are either united territorially or have established contact between themselves through partisan detachments and through other means. Formerly, the main forces of the Red Army were stationed in districts of the Kiangsi and Fukien Provinces, which were greatly exhausted economically by the many years of war, and which were constantly being blockaded on all sides by the enemy. Now, the main forces of the Red Army have occupied extensive territories in Szechwan, Sikang, Kweichow, Kansu and other provinces, where there are immeasurably greater resources both of supplies and of men for the army, where it is much easier to organise military defence and where it is considerably more difficult for the enemy to carry out plans for attack and, even more so, for military encirclement.

The fact that the slogans of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to increase the numerical strength of the

regular units of the Red Army to one million men and to extend the territory of the Soviet districts to include a population of 100 million people can already be fully realised in the very near future is another proof of the great victory of the Red Army.

This historic new victory of the Red Army and the Soviets of China undoubtedly permits them to appear to a still greater extent and with greater force as the leader and unifying centre of the Chinese people in the struggle for the salvation of the fatherland! Not only the growth of the forces of the Red Army and the Soviets, but also the growth of the forces of the Communist Party testify to the strengthening of the subjective factor.

The Communist Party of China has become a party which numbers almost half a million members and which has won over to its side not only a majority of the workers in the Soviet districts but a majority of the masses of the population there. Under difficult conditions, the Communist Party brilliantly leads the struggle of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and the Soviet Power. Despite difficulties and at the expense of the greatest sacrifices the Communist Party of China is heroically acquitting itself in Manchuria, Jehol, North China and the Kuomintang districts as the only leader and organiser of mass revolutionary struggle, beginning with primitive and passive forms (petitions, sabotage, etc.) and carrying it forward to its most acute forms (mass political and general strikes, armed uprisings against Japanese imperialism and its agents—the puppet government of what is known as "Manchukuo" and the Nanking Government of Chiang Kai-shek and Huan Fu—in defence of the partial and general interests of the broadest masses of the people). On the basis of the Leninist-Stalinist line of the Communist International, the Communist Party, in the hard school of national and class struggle, has been able to forge and to temper hundreds and thousands of fighters devoted to the cause of revolution, has been able to create talented cadres who are capable of fighting and who are not afraid of difficulties but go out to meet them in order to overcome them. Among these fighters are foremost Party leaders and statesmen—Mao Tse-tung, Chang Kuo-tao, Hsian Yin, Chow En-lui, Po Ku, Chang Wen-tien, Lin Tsu-han, Wang Ta-hsian and others. Among them are famed military commanders—Chu Teh, Pen Teh-hui, Hsui Hsian-chiang, Ho Lun, Tung Cheng-tan, Cheng Tsan-hao, Hsiao Keh, Lin Piao, Lo Ping-kwei, Lu Pei-cheng and others. Among them were and are national heroes and class fighters—Peng Pai, Yang Yin, Tsu Tsu-po, Lo Teng-hsian, Tsai Ho-shen (all members of the Political Bureau of the

Central Committee of the Communist Party of China), Teng Chun-hsia (member of the Central Committee), Yun Tei-yin (member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and leader of the Young Communist League of China), Chen Yuan-tao, Ho Tse-shu (prominent leaders in the fight against Li Li-hsianism), Mo Ping-lan (prominent woman Communist) and others, national heroes and fighters whose Bolshevik firmness under tortures and atrocities in enemy prisons and heroic death showed fighting examples for each Communist and evoked the most profound admiration of the entire Chinese public opinion. Among them were fearless and heroic fighters—Comrade Huan Kun-chao (member of the Central Committee of the Party; Commander of the Fifth Red Army), Shen Tsei-min (member of the Central Committee of the Party), Lu I (Political Commissar of the Second Red Army), Hsiun Hui-chow (commissar of the 7th Corps of the Red Army)—who fought to the last drop of blood for the cause of the Soviets and Red Army. Among these cadres were famous national heroes—Comrades Sun Hsiao-pao, Fu Wei-yui and others—who were in command of workers' volunteer detachments and who gave their lives in the most decisive battles during the heroic defence of Shanghai; Tung Tsan-jun, Pei Yan and others who heroically sacrificed their lives in the struggle against the Japanese army of occupation in Manchuria. Among them are also such noteworthy commanders and political workers of the famous vanguard of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army as Comrade Fan Chi-min, who, taken prisoner by the Kuomintang executioners, holds high the glorious banner of the Red Army and the Communist Party and evokes the sympathy and admiration of all the best people of China.

The ideological, political and organisational growth of the Communist Party of China is explained by the fact that it is being led by the Leninist Communist International, by the fact that it can utilise the experience and assistance of all sections of the Communist International and, primarily, the richest experience of the leading section of the Communist International—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Our Party is true to the teachings of one who, after the death of Lenin, continued to develop further the theory and tactics of Marxism-Leninism in general, and the theory and tactics of Marxism-Leninism as applied to colonial revolutions in particular; who developed the theoretical foundations of the strategy and tactics of the Chinese Revolution—to the teachings of the great Stalin!

The Communist Party of China has grown and become strong on the basis of an irreconcilable struggle against counter-revolutionary Trotskyism and liquidationist Chen Tu-hsiuism, against the semi-Trotskyist Li Li-hsianist line and counter-revolutionary Lo Chang-lunism. It has grown and become strong on the basis of an active participation in and leadership of various forms of mass struggle in the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution. It is precisely this growth of the forces of the Communist Party of China that permits it boldly and decisively to raise in a new manner the question of the anti-imperialist united front.

Some people think that the proposal of the Communist Party of China for an anti-imperialist united front is merely a manoeuvre and not a real policy. This is absolutely false.

These people cannot comprehend the simple truth that the Communist Party has no interests other than the interests of the people. Does not the cause of the salvation of the fatherland from imperialist invasion correspond to the interests of the people? Of course, it does! China is our fatherland! The Chinese nation is the Communists, the Red Army, all the sons and daughters of our fatherland! The cause of the salvation of our fatherland is the cause of the salvation of our entire people from colonial slavery and death by starvation. These people do not understand that the strength of the Communist Party lies precisely in the fact that, unlike the Kuomintang, the Social-Democratic, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties, its words are always at one with its deeds.

BRAZIL

A really serious national movement has only just begun in Brazil, but it has already led to a political crisis. Nevertheless, as yet there is no sharp demarcation of class forces, and a part of the national bourgeoisie still supports the general popular struggle against imperialism. On the initiative of the proletariat and the national-revolutionary forces, the National Liberation Alliance (*Alianza Nacional Libertadora*)—an organisation representing a revolutionary anti-imperialist bloc of classes—was formed in Brazil in the beginning of this year. The National Liberation Alliance is supported by the Communist Party, and Communists have entered its organisation together with members of many other political parties and groups (as, for example, Tenientes,²

² Tenientes—a party of army officers of intermediate rank, consisting mainly of petty-bourgeois revolutionary elements.

Trabalhista,³ Socialist Parties of individual states, the Left wing of the Liberal Alliance⁴ (*Alianza Liberal*) and others).

In contrast to the Chinese Kuomintang of 1925-27 when it was still a bloc of anti-imperialist organisations, the Brazilian National Liberation Alliance is, from the very beginning, a broad democratic organisation based on individual and collective membership. Among its members are workers' trade unions, student and youth organisations, peasant leagues, etc. Many officers and enlisted army and navy men have affiliated themselves with the National Liberation Alliance. This popular and democratic character of the National Liberation Alliance considerably facilitates the struggle of the proletariat and its Communist Party for leadership within and without the Alliance. At numerous well-attended meetings and popular conferences our comrade, Luis Carlos Prestes—the national hero and “knight of hope” of the Brazilian people—was elected honorary chairman of the National Liberation Alliance.

Comrade Prestes' appeal of July 5, 1935, shows that our Brazilian comrades are the foremost fighters for the national emancipation of the entire Brazilian people. Both in the appeals of the National Liberation Alliance and in Prestes' manifestoes three major demands of the programme for the creation of a broad anti-imperialist united front are advanced:

1. The struggle for the national independence of Brazil;
2. The struggle against the latifundia and for the immediate confiscation and transfer to the peasants of the latifundia belonging to the imperialists and the national traitors to and betrayers of the nation;
3. The struggle for popular democracy, in defence of democratic rights and popular liberties against the encroachments and violations on the part of the reactionary Vargas Government and the fascists.

In connection with the tremendous growth of the influence and forces of the National Liberation Alliance, the Vargas Government, hiding behind false phrasemongering about the defence of “liberal democracy and the world against Left and Right extremism,” with the support and on the instructions of imperialism,

³ Trabalhista—a workers' party affiliated with the Second International. It has no influence on the broad masses and supports the policy of the Labour Ministry.

⁴ Liberal Alliance—a party of the bourgeoisie and the landowners, connected mainly with United States imperialism. It came to power in 1930 by means of a *coup d'état*.

primarily of British imperialism, is destroying popular liberties, promulgating extraordinary decrees, concluding agreements with the reactionary government of Argentina concerning armed intervention in the event of an outbreak of a national-liberation revolution in Brazil, consolidating the forces of the clergy and landowners, instigating the Integralists⁵ to commit atrocities and arming counter-revolutionary bands. This government of national betrayal, sensing its isolation from the masses of the people, is not only trying to suppress the National Liberation Alliance but is secretly preparing a bloody massacre of the fighters for the national freedom of the Brazilian people and is preparing to establish an open reactionary dictatorship. On the other hand, Comrade Prestes, in the name of the entire Brazilian people, unfurled the banner of struggle under the slogan: “All power to the National Liberation Alliance!”

As things stand now, our Brazilian comrades are faced with the task of still further broadening and consolidating the united anti-imperialist people's front, in order that the National Liberation Alliance should really be able to repulse the reactionary offensive of the government and fulfil its responsible and honourable task of winning state power in the interests of the Brazilian people.

The Brazilian Communist Party is faced with the task of directing its efforts towards the consolidation of a united national front; of wholly overcoming all misgivings concerning the correct line of the Party and the sectarian resistance to it on the part of individual Communists; of fearlessly developing a mass movement in the name and defence of the National Liberation Alliance, raising this movement to the highest forms of struggle for power.

At the same time, the Communists cannot but remember that without the active support of the peasant masses the struggle against imperialism and reaction cannot be successful, and that an underestimation of the peasants' struggle may lead, as has been shown by the experience of the Communist Party of China (1927), to severe defeats. The Communists are therefore striving with all their power to draw the Brazilian peasantry, the basic mass of the Brazilian people, into an active struggle for national emancipation, for the urgent demands of the peasants directed against the landowners and against the latifundia, are striving to organise peasant leagues and to affiliate them with the National

⁵ Integralists—the Brazilian fascists.

Liberation Alliance, to strengthen the influence of the proletariat in the struggle of the peasantry.

At the same time, our Brazilian comrades will extend the anti-imperialist people's united front by including in it all possible, even though temporary, allies and fellow-travellers (among them, Parliamentary opposition parties and governors of the various states of Brazil who are dissatisfied with the Vargas Government), in order to weaken and isolate the Vargas Government and to facilitate the national-liberation struggle of the Alliance.

The National Liberation Alliance has started a great and glorious cause. Were it actually to win power, it could put through a broad programme of national and social reforms in the interests of the Brazilian people. Having arisen on the basis of a united anti-imperialist people's front, the government of the National Liberation Alliance will be an *anti-imperialist* government *primarily*, but as yet it will not be a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. Together with representatives of the proletariat this government will include representatives of other classes which have participated in the struggle for the national liberation of the Brazilian people (among them also representatives of that part of the national bourgeoisie which at present temporarily still supports the struggle of the people).

The Communists in this government will strive for a programme of national and social reforms in the interests of the people.

In their struggle for the national independence of Brazil the Communists will strive to achieve the annulment of enslaving foreign loans, the nationalisation of the enterprises of those foreign capitalists who will not submit to the laws of the national government, and at the same time will come out in favour of foreign capital investments on conditions which will not affect the sovereignty of the Brazilian people. While coming out in favour of the introduction of protective tariffs to safeguard the national industry against imperialist dumping, the Communists will fight to protect the interests of the broad masses of the people, *i.e.*, they will fight against the raising of retail prices on the internal market or for a corresponding increase in the wages of the workers.

The Communists will strive to make the national-revolutionary government a centre which consistently fights for peace against imperialist war, a centre which inspires and rallies the masses of

the people throughout Latin America for the just struggle of liberation from the imperialist yoke.

At the same time the Communists will strive to achieve the carrying out of extensive social measures in the interests of the workers, peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie: they will fight for real democracy for the people and for the arming of the people, for bread for the hungry, for the transfer of food supplies that were laid by for purposes of speculation (coffee, etc.) to the urban poor; they will demand the introduction of an eight-hour working day, an advanced form of social insurance and the establishment of a minimum wage for the workers.

The Communists will suggest to the government of the National Liberation Alliance that it promulgate measures to considerably ameliorate the lot of the urban toiling masses, *i.e.*, that it abrogate all old taxes, reduce rent for living quarters and premises occupied by small traders and artisans, ensure low credits, introduce free education in schools and universities for the children of the toilers.

The Communists will strive to make the national government begin a struggle to ameliorate the condition of the peasantry, revoke all feudal duties and taxes, annul indebtedness to the bankers, usurers and landowners, confiscate and distribute among the peasants the land of the latifundia owned by foreigners and the enemies of the people and fatherland, recognise all unauthorised seizures of landowners' food supplies by the hungry peasants, ensure the right of the peasants to organise into peasant leagues and assist in the organisation of peasant self-defence against the violence of the reactionaries.

Our Brazilian comrades have laid a good foundation for the creation of a united anti-imperialist front. Let us hope that they will be able to achieve a victorious outcome in this great and difficult undertaking.

Other Communist Parties of Latin America, which can learn something from our Brazilian comrades, of course adapting the experience of the latter to the peculiarities of their own countries, are beginning to enter upon the same path.

In the first place, it is necessary to note the struggle of the Communist Party of Cuba which has already taken the first steps towards the conclusion of an agreement with the national-revolutionary organisation "Young Cuba," which has a wide mass influence, and with the national reformist party "Auténticos," led by the former president of Cuba, Grau San Martín, for joint

action against imperialism and the Mendieta-Batista dictatorship. In a number of countries of Latin America, however, until very recently the line of establishing a broad anti-imperialist front has not always been well understood, and sometimes has even met with serious resistance.

It is true that in Mexico the Communist Party has achieved certain successes in the struggle for trade union unity and in the peasants' struggle. This is very important and our Mexican comrades may be congratulated on these successes. But the Mexican Communist Party has as yet done almost nothing in the struggle for the united anti-imperialist front. In this Party there is an underestimation of the danger of a reactionary Calles⁶ coup and it has not yet finally rejected the definitely incorrect stand which considers that the national-reformist government of Cardenas is supposedly carrying out the fascisation of the country. There is as yet no improvement in the struggle for the crystallisation of a national-revolutionary wing within the P.N.R.⁷ (*Partido Nacional Revolucionario*) and this cannot be achieved without open and frank offers on our part to the P.N.R., in respect to joint action against imperialism, against the danger of a Calles coup and against clerical reaction.

Even less, perhaps, has thus far been accomplished in Argentina, despite the fact that the Argentine Communist Party has not a few, good, theoretically prepared comrades, and has had much experience in the class struggle in the past. The situation in Argentina has become very acute in recent months. The popular, and, in particular, the anti-imperialist movement is growing. Under these conditions the achievements of the Communist Party are insufficient and the Communist Party must overcome the sectarian attitude which is still strong in its ranks. The Argentine Communists will strive to achieve a turn in the struggle for the establishment of a broad united front against Uriburuism⁸ and

⁶ Calles, the former president of Mexico, who represents the most reactionary section of the national bourgeoisie and the largest landowners and who is supported by American imperialism.

⁷ P.N.R.—the so-called "National-Revolutionary Party," which is really a national-reformist party, now in power in Mexico.

⁸ Uriburuists—A grouping connected with imperialism and embracing the reactionary section of the national bourgeoisie and large landowners in Argentina, which was led by Uriburu, recently deceased ex-president of Argentina.

imperialism, striving to achieve an agreement for joint action not only with the Socialist but also with the Radical Party, despite the resistance of the Right elements within this Party. It is a mistake to consider (and this point of view may spread through the ranks of the Communist Party of Argentina) that before proceeding to establish a united proletarian front it is absolutely necessary to establish a united proletarian front beforehand. Experience has shown (in Brazil, for example) that the establishment of an anti-imperialist united front in semi-colonial countries considerably facilitates the achievement of trade union unity. At the same time, however, a proletarian front in its turn strengthens and consolidates the people's front of struggle against reaction and imperialism. These two tasks should therefore not be placed in opposition to each other nor should stages or degrees be set up for the solution of these tasks: it is necessary to struggle boldly for a united proletarian and people's front against imperialism and reaction!

INDIA

India is a classical colonial country with a relatively numerous proletariat and a considerably advanced demarcation of classes. Whereas in speaking of China and Brazil I pointed out that the Communist Parties of these countries were able to achieve appreciable successes in elaborating platforms of demands and were able to find suitable forms of mass organisation for the creation of a broad people's anti-imperialist front, I must say that the situation is different in India.

Our comrades in India have suffered for a long time from "Left" sectarian errors: they did not participate in all the mass demonstrations organised by the National Congress or organisations affiliated with it. At the same time, the Indian Communists did not possess sufficient forces independently to organise a really powerful and mass anti-imperialist movement. Therefore, the Indian Communists until very recently were to a considerable extent isolated from the mass of the people, from the mass anti-imperialist struggle. The toiling masses of India could not be convinced of the fact that the Communists not only really desire to struggle themselves, but can also lead the millions in a struggle against the principal mortal enemy of the Indian people—British imperialism. In this connection for a long time the small, scattered groups of Communists could not become a united, mass all-Indian Communist Party. By their sectarian policy and isolation from the mass anti-imperialist movement, these small

Communist groups objectively helped to retain the influence of Gandhism⁹ and national reformism over the masses. It was only recently that the all-Indian Communist Party, which has already taken shape, began to rid itself of its sectarian errors and made the first steps towards the creation of an anti-imperialist united front. Nevertheless, our young Indian comrades, having taken this road, showed a great lack of understanding of the united front tactics. This may be borne out even by the fact that our Indian comrades in attempting to establish a united anti-imperialist front with the National Congress in December of last year put before the latter such demands as "the establishment of an Indian Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republic," "confiscation of all lands belonging to the *zemindars* [landowners] without compensation," "a general strike as the only effective programme of action," etc. Such demands on the part of our Indian comrades can serve as an example of how not to carry on the tactics of the anti-imperialist united front. True, the Indian Communists somewhat corrected their line later on and achieved, on the one hand, the unification of the revolutionary and reformist trade unions, and, on the other hand, an agreement with the so-called Congressional Socialists for a struggle against the new slavish constitution. This policy has already brought the first results. I have in mind the mass protest meetings against the new slavish constitution which were organised in Bombay and Calcutta by the Communists and Congressional Socialists on the basis of a broad united front.

In the interests of the further successful struggle against British imperialism, the Indian Communists must put a decisive stop to sectarianism and must actively participate in the mass anti-imperialist movement. The Indian Communists should in no case disregard work within the National Congress and the national - revolutionary and national - reformist organisations affiliated with it, maintaining at the same time their complete political and organisational independence. *Both within and without the National Congress the Indian Communists must consolidate all the genuine anti-imperialist forces of the country, broadening and leading the struggle of the masses against the imperialist oppressors.*

The Indian Communists must formulate a programme of popular demands which could serve as a platform for a broad people's

⁹ Gandhism—The theory of Gandhi, who preaches passive resistance to British imperialism and who is the actual leader of the National Congress in India.

anti-imperialist united front in each given period of the struggle of the masses. In my opinion this programme for struggle in the immediate future should include approximately the following demands:

1. Against the slavish constitution;
2. For the immediate liberation of all political prisoners;
3. For the abolition of all extraordinary laws and decrees directed against the interests of the broad masses of the people;
4. Against the lowering of wages, the lengthening of the working day, and the discharge of workers;
5. Against burdensome taxes, high land rents, and against confiscation of the peasants' land for non-payment of debts and obligations.
6. For the establishment of democratic liberties.

There can be no doubt that the Indian Communists, who led a strike of 100,000 Bombay textile workers last year, are able in Bolshevik manner to proceed to the organisation of a broad people's anti-imperialist front, are able to organise the masses of the people for resistance to the increasing aggression of British imperialism and, by their consistent, stubborn and self-sacrificing struggle for the vital interests of the Indian people, for the urgent requirements of the toiling masses, are able to lead these masses to a victorious anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution in India.

The more successfully the Indian comrades utilise the favourable experiences of the Communist Parties of China and Brazil and the more decisively—and at the same time flexibly—they carry out the tactics of the anti-imperialist people's front in relation to the concrete conditions of contemporary India, the sooner they will be able to achieve this. In this connection I want particularly to draw the attention of the Indian comrades to the following directives in the resolution of the Seventh Congress:

"... it is necessary to draw the widest masses into the national liberation movement against growing imperialist exploitation, against cruel enslavement, for the driving out of the imperialists, for the independence of the country; to take an active part in the mass anti-imperialist movements headed by the national reformists and strive to bring about joint action with the national-revolutionary and national-reformist organisations on the basis of a definite anti-imperialist platform."

To strive with all their power and all the means at their disposal for the establishment of a united anti-imperialist front of the broad masses of the people both within and without the National Congress, to strive for the active participation of Communists and their supporters in all mass anti-imperialist demon-

strations, irrespective of who calls them or who organises them, in order to show the people *by deeds* that the Communists are really the vanguard of the people of India in the struggle for national emancipation—this is now the main task of the Indian comrades.

ARABIAN COUNTRIES

It has been previously pointed out that the task of the Indian Communists is to broaden and assume leadership of the anti-imperialist struggle. This applies also to other colonial and semi-colonial countries. I will only mention an additional task which faces the Communists of the Arabian countries.

The truth of the matter is that the international imperialists, in the interests of their robber policy, have torn the Arabian countries into pieces, setting up artificial border-lines. But, despite the fact that individual Arabian countries are ruled by different imperialist powers, they are all interconnected by their geographic location and by their common language, history and revolutionary traditions.

Hence it follows that the Arabian Communists, while working to establish a people's anti-imperialist front in each of these countries, must at the same time join their forces and must strive to achieve the co-ordination of the anti-imperialist struggle in all these countries, must strive to establish an all-Arabian people's anti-imperialist front. The Arabian Communists must draw up a programme of demands which can serve as a platform uniting all anti-imperialist forces in the Arabian countries.

I believe that by taking into account the experiences of China, Brazil and other countries, our comrades in the remaining colonial and semi-colonial countries will be able to draw their own tactical conclusions depending on the concrete conditions of their struggle.

United Front and Trade Union Unity

Some people think that questions of the united front of the working class and of trade union unity are not on the order of the day or, at any rate, are of no particular significance to the colonial and semi-colonial countries, because as a rule the working class of these countries has not been split into a revolutionary (Communist) and a reformist (Social-Democratic) camp. This is false!

It is true that the workers in colonial and semi-colonial countries, because of the peculiar historical conditions of these countries, were not, as a rule, split into Communist and Social-

Democratic camps as was and is the case in capitalist countries. But the working class and its trade union movement in the colonial and dependent countries is to a considerable extent split into the *revolutionary* and the *national-reformist* camps, in the first place, and, secondly, they are split according to various guild traditions and mediæval customs (associations of people coming from the same district, religious organisations, etc.). As a result of the growing national and class struggle in the colonial and dependent countries and because of the influence of the extensive and mighty struggle for a united anti-fascist front and trade union unity on the part of the working class in capitalist countries (especially in France, Germany, Spain and Austria), the workers in the colonial and semi-colonial countries have evinced and are evincing greater activity and a keen desire to establish a united front of their class and trade union unity. This is borne out by numerous facts.

As a result of the growing will on the part of the mass of workers to establish a united front and a united trade union movement, a change has taken place in the attitude of the reformist, anarcho-syndicalist and other trade union leaders. In Chili, for instance, the anarcho-syndicalist General Confederation of Labour which spoke decisively against a united front with the adherents of the revolutionary trade union movement was lately forced to declare its readiness to conclude a united front agreement. The agenda of the regular Congress of the General Confederation of Labour held in April of this year included the question of the united front and trade union unity. The reformist Confederation of Trade Unions of Chili declared, at the beginning of this year, that it has become convinced of the necessity of uniting the trade union movement and has begun to set up unity committees.

In Brazil, because of mass pressure, many government trade unions and even a number of trade union confederations affiliated with the Ministry of Labour have severed their connections with the latter and have affiliated with the Trade Union Unity Congress called by the revolutionary General Confederation of Labour of Brazil.

In Argentina, the leaders of the reformist General Confederation of Labour did not dare to come out openly against the amalgamation of the three trade unions of woodworkers in Buenos Aires, and the establishment of a single union.

In Mexico, where the trade union movement is more scattered

than anywhere else, the leaders of the reformist trade union centres (CROM,¹⁰ Toledano Confederation,¹¹ the Chamber of Labour¹² and the Revolutionary Chamber of Labour) are now coming out as supporters of trade union unity.

In India, the amalgamation of the reformist All-Indian Congress and the Red Congress of Trade Unions has taken place (April 1935).

In China, the workers, both members of the reformist Kuomintang trade unions and members of the Red trade unions are realising their united front struggles in numerous strikes, demonstrations, etc.

But it must be noted that in most of the colonial and semi-colonial countries (with the possible exception of Brazil), and including China, the Communists underestimated the importance of united front and trade union unity tactics, were unable to take the lead in and organise the growing urge of the mass of workers towards the united front and trade union unity and have thereby surrendered the initiative to the reformists (e.g., India) and even to the national-reformist government (e.g., Mexico).

Only by establishing a united front and a united trade union movement of the working class, can the Communist Party really ensure a proletarian framework in the anti-imperialist people's united front and greatly facilitate its struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat in the people's anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution. On the other hand, the establishment of a united anti-imperialist front considerably facilitates the formation of a united front and a united trade union movement of the working class, as has been shown now by the experience of Brazil, and before that, in the period of 1925-27, by the experience of China.

True, in many colonial and semi-colonial countries (for

¹⁰ CROM (*Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana*)—the reformist trade union centre of Mexico whose leaders are connected with the reactionary group of the former President of Mexico—Calles.

¹¹ Toledano Confederation (*Confederacion Toledano*)—one of the largest trade union centres in Mexico, headed by Lombardo Toledano and at present affiliated with the trade union united front organisation.

¹² Chamber of Labour (*Camara del Trabajo*)—trade union centre led by the Labour Department of the ruling National-Revolutionary Party.

example, in the non-Soviet parts of China) where the revolutionary trade union movement is underground, it is, of course, impossible to copy the methods and forms of the struggle of the mass of workers for the united front and trade union unity used in countries where the trade union movement is legal. In these countries, the Communists and the supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement must find such forms and methods of work and struggle as would assist them, in the end, to achieve their aim—the establishment of a united front and a united trade union movement of the working class. I believe that one of the best and most effective methods and forms of struggle for a united front and trade union unity in those countries where our movement is illegal is the shifting of the main stress in trade union work to the establishment of small, illegal, Red trade union groups, to work within all existing workers' mass organisations which enjoy legal or semi-legal existence, in order to win over these organisations.

A Decisive Improvement Is Necessary in all Fields of Party Work

Moreover, it must be mentioned that for the successful accomplishment of the task of the Communists in colonial countries which is most important for the immediate future—the establishment, extension and consolidation of the anti-imperialist people's front—while applying united front and trade union unity tactics we will strive to achieve a real improvement in the tactics and in other important phases of Party work, namely:

1. In order to realise our new, wholly correct tactical line in the field of establishing and broadening the anti-imperialist people's front, the Communist Party of China will not only fight with all the means at its disposal against the strong sectarian tendencies and traditions which exist in the Party organisations on the very questions of the anti-imperialist people's front and trade union unity, etc., but it will also revise a number of measures in the field of economic policy which it was forced to carry out in the past, primarily because of the protracted war and because of the limited resources of the former Central and other Soviet districts. For instance: the policy towards the kulaks will be made more precise. The policy towards the small landowners who do not work their land themselves, but who, because of their economic and social condition can by no means be considered landed gentry, will be corrected. The fact is that the land of even these petty owners was often confiscated as a result of individual, incorrect instructions of local soviets to

the effect that the land belonging to those who do not cultivate it themselves should be confiscated. The taxation, financial and trade policy, etc., will be reconsidered with a view to attaching to it a more clearly expressed popular and clearly national character in order to facilitate the mobilisation and organisation of the broadest masses of people throughout China under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Soviets around the national-revolutionary struggle against the powerful enemy—Japanese imperialism and its agents.

2. In order that the Communist Party should really be able to win influence over the broad sections of the youth and draw them into active participation in the anti-imperialist and class struggle, it is necessary decisively to revise the organisation and the work of our Young Communist Leagues. Under the present conditions of China, for instance:

(a) From a narrow young workers' organisation our Young Communist League must be transformed into a broad, mass organisation which is really directing its course towards including the workers and peasants and the entire anti-imperialist youth;

(b) The Young Communist League must pass from copying the methods and forms of work of the Party to a real political, cultural and military education of the youth by means of increasing the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism, by creating social-educational, sports and other types of organisations and by active work in all existing mass youth organisations with the aim of winning them over, irrespective of who organised them, etc., etc.

The Anti-Imperialist United Front and Questions of the Hegemony of the Proletariat and Soviet Power

Questions of the anti-imperialist united front, the hegemony of the proletariat and Soviet power are of the utmost political significance. Some people think that the participation of the Communist Party in the anti-imperialist united front signifies a weakening in its struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat and for Soviet power. This, of course, is absolutely incorrect.

The hegemony of the proletariat in the revolutionary movement is no abstract slogan, no empty phrase, but a concrete matter which expresses itself primarily in ideological, political and organisational leadership by the proletariat and its party of its allies in the revolution (peasantry, urban petty bourgeoisie), beginning with the partial struggle for their immediate

demands and ending with the struggle for state power. The hegemony of the proletariat does not come of itself: the Communists must win it by means of systematic and unselfish practical work.

Soviet power cannot be established without the corresponding preparation of the great masses and the Communist Party for the revolutionary struggle. Soviet power can be established only when the level of the class struggle is sufficiently high and when the forces of the proletariat and the peasantry, led by the Communist Party, are sufficiently great. Furthermore, the Communist Party of China has won the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolutionary struggle and has established Soviet power over a considerable part of the country precisely because from the very beginning of its development (as far back as 1924-25) and to this very day it has appeared and is appearing before the entire people as an independent force and the vanguard in the anti-imperialist struggle, and because it resolutely directs and leads the struggle of tens of millions of peasants for land, i.e., the agrarian revolution. The Communist Party of Brazil is beginning to come forward as an independent political factor in the entire life of the country and is on the road to becoming a really mass party precisely at the present moment, when it has taken the initiative in creating the National Liberation Alliance as a concrete expression of the anti-imperialist people's front in the present conditions of Brazil, and is actively coming forward in the revolutionary mass struggle against imperialism and its agent—the reactionary Vargas Government.

On the other hand, in those countries where the Communists were for a long time unable to create an anti-imperialist united front, the Communist Parties have not yet become strong, mass parties. These facts show that without the active participation of the Communists in the general people's and national struggle against imperialist oppression it is inconceivable that the Communist groups or the young, numerically small Party can be transformed into a real mass party, and without this the hegemony of the proletariat and Soviet power in their country is not to be thought of. Without a doubt imperialism is the principal and basic enemy of all the colonial peoples, and if the Communists are unable to come out against imperialism in the front ranks of the people, how can the people recognise in the Party its vanguard and leader?

Every Communist in the colonial countries must become firmly convinced that under the conditions of a country like China,

where Soviet power already exists on a part of the territory, the correct application of the anti-imperialist people's front will not weaken but, on the contrary, will strengthen the position and the power of the Communist Party in the struggle for the strengthening of the hegemony of the proletariat and for the further victory of the Soviet revolution. On the other hand, under the conditions existing in a country like Brazil, where the National Liberation Alliance has already been established, the further successful application of correct anti-imperialist people's front tactics facilitates the struggle of the Communist Party and the victory of the revolution in the stage of the general national front and prepares the ground for the further development of the revolution in the next and higher stage, i.e., it facilitates the struggle of the Communist Party for the perspective of establishing Soviet power for the Brazilian people. Finally, under the conditions of such countries as India and others where the objective conditions for the development of a mass revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle exist, but where the Communist Parties are still weak, the correct application of the tactics of establishing an anti-imperialist united front rapidly increases the influence and the authority of the Communist Party and heightens the people's struggle against imperialism.

But from this, one should not draw the conclusion that an incorrect application of these tactics by the Communists does not carry with it a serious danger for the Communist Party and the revolutionary movement. We know from the history of the struggle of the Communist Party of China that when the opportunists in its leadership, headed by Chen Ju-hsiu counterposed the tactics of the united national front to the task of the class struggle at the critical moment of the revolutionary movement in 1927, when for the sake of retaining a united national front with a part of the national bourgeoisie these opportunists renounced the revolutionary struggle of the working class in defence of their vital interests, renounced the agrarian revolution of the peasantry, renounced the struggle for winning over national-revolutionary armies and for arming the workers and peasants and, finally, when these opportunists rejected an independent policy in regard to our temporary allies (the refusal to criticise first the waverings and later the treachery of the Right and then the Left wing of the Kuomintang, etc.)—they brought the 1927 revolution to defeat. But from this it is nevertheless quite clear that *it was not the anti-imperialist united front tactics themselves that were at fault, but that it was the opportunists, who distorted these revolu-*

tionary tactics to suit the bourgeoisie and imperialism, who were incorrect.

The comrades from the colonial and semi-colonial countries must seriously set about the formation of the anti-imperialist united front, must earnestly struggle to carry out this most important task placed before all of us and before all our Parties by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International!

III. THE PROBLEM OF FASCISM IN THE COLONIAL AND DEPENDENT COUNTRIES

From the point of view that fascism is the open, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialistic elements of finance capital, from the point of view that fascism grew out of the soil of the bankrupt bourgeois-democratic regime, that Social-Democracy cleared the way to power for fascism (as we have seen, for instance, in Germany and Italy) there can, of course, be no question of this kind of fascism in the colonial and dependent countries.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that in a number of colonial and dependent countries during recent years, especially after fascism came to power in Germany, a so-called fascist movement is growing.

In China, for instance, during the past years Chiang Kai-shek made strenuous efforts to organise the Blue Shirt League, which unofficially and sometimes even officially, in the press, called themselves National-Socialists. Fulfilling the role of executioners in regard to the people, the Communist Party and all anti-fascist groupings, fulfilling the role of mediæval barbarians (the burning of books and literature, the burying alive of revolutionary writers, etc.) and bloody gendarmes in the Kuomintang troops, these terrorist bands are at the same time trying to spread their influence over the masses. Hence, the campaign for the "new life," the campaign for the revival of the ancient Chinese code of morals and Confucianism, the demagogic appeals to struggle for the national emancipation of China, etc.

In Brazil, there is a fascist organisation (the so-called Integralists) which has its branches in the provinces, in the districts, in the schools, the factories, the mills and on the landed estates. They have departments of propaganda and of culture, a military department, a social-economic department and others. The strictest military discipline prevails in the organisation. The leaders of this organisation are intellectuals in the overwhelming

majority of cases—doctors, lawyers, etc. but among these leaders there are also not a few large landowners, industrialists and bankers. In Argentina there is a similar organisation—the “Civil Legion.” In Mexico there are the “Gold Shirts” (*Camisas Doradas*). In Chili there are National-Socialist organisations, etc., etc.

True, all these so-called fascist organisations, with the exception of the Brazilian Integralists, are to this day by no means mass organisations. All of them, by establishing connections with one or another imperialist power (in the first place, with fascist Germany), are nationally corrupt organisations and a weapon for the imperialist enslavement of their own people. All of them represent the most reactionary, the most counter-revolutionary and the darkest forces of their country. The economic, political and historical conditions of the colonial and dependent countries differ from the conditions in Germany, Italy, Austria, etc. In connection with all these circumstances the fascist movement in the colonial and dependent countries cannot, of course, grow in the same way, in the same forms and with such force as in Germany, Italy, etc.

Nevertheless, we should by no means underestimate the role and significance of the fascist movement and the fascist organisations in so far as this “fashionable” sign of reaction is utilised by the most counter-revolutionary elements among the landowners and bourgeoisie of the colonial and dependent countries for the organisation of counter-revolutionary forces, for the struggle against a people’s revolution and for still further increasing the enslavement of the people of their own countries by imperialism. The fascist movement and the fascist organisations represent particular danger for the revolutionary liberation movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries because the fascists everywhere in these countries, before everything else, hasten to make use of nationalist demagogy, which often meets with response from the masses. The fascists also widely disseminate social demagogy. By means of this demagogy they are sometimes able to draw in disheartened petty-bourgeois masses, which are called upon to play a role of considerable importance in the anti-imperialist struggle of the colonial and dependent countries. The fascists are particularly dangerous to us also because very many Communist Parties of the colonial and semi-colonial countries even now are unable to direct the anti-imperialist and anti-reactionary moods of the masses into the channel of revolutionary struggle, are unable to gain influence over the masses,

From this it is clear that the struggle against fascist movements and fascist organisations in the colonial and semi-colonial countries is one of the most urgent and important tasks of our Parties.

As experience has shown, the struggle against fascism in the colonial and semi-colonial countries must now be conducted on two fronts: on the one hand against the neglectful attitude and underestimation of the danger and harmfulness of the fascist movement in their own country (the error committed by many Communists in China), and against the tendency to exaggerate the importance of the fascist movement of their countries, on the other. For instance, many of our comrades in the Latin American countries characterise almost all bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties as fascist or on the road to becoming fascist, thus hampering the establishment of an anti-imperialist and anti-fascist people’s front.

How, then, should the struggle against the fascist movement and against fascist organisations in the colonial and dependent countries be carried on?

I believe that of all the numerous and various tactical means the following are the most important and fundamental:

1. The organisation of a really revolutionary mass anti-imperialist struggle and the establishment of an anti-imperialist and anti-fascist people’s front for the purpose of smashing the fundamental national demagogy of the fascists, in order to show the masses the real way out of their colonial and dependent condition. This means produces good results. For example, in Brazil lately the powerful upsurge of the National Liberation Alliance movement not only weakened the influence of the Integralists among the masses, not only evoked a split between a considerable portion of the rank and file and the leaders of the Integralists on the question of the attitude towards the national movement and the National Liberation Alliance, but it has also caused a split among the leaders of the Integralists and has even resulted in a number of individual prominent leaders (among them the candidate for parliament from San Paulo) coming over to the side of the National Liberation Alliance.

2. Skilful methods of exposing the demagogy of the fascists by the Communists for the purpose of convincing the masses, on the basis of the latter’s own experience, of the falsity of the fascists’ promises. I shall cite several examples from the experience of individual Party organisations in the Kuomintang districts of

China. For instance, when Chiang Kai-shek's Blue Shirts were carrying on a campaign for the "new life," for the "observance of ceremonies," for "respect to parents," etc., our village Party organisations in the Kiangsu and Chekiang provinces, by utilising the New Year's holiday organised the presentation of a petition, signed by thousands of peasant families, to the city committee of the Kuomintang and to the village and county authorities, demanding the distribution of rice, grain and clothing in order that the peasants should really be able to celebrate the New Year's holiday in accordance with the "new life," in a spirit of "observance of ceremonies" and "respect to parents." When the local Kuomintang officials refused to satisfy these demands, and when the police fired into the assembled crowd, the peasant masses headed by the Communists passed from petitions to militant and imposing demonstrations against the Kuomintang, fascist deceivers. Another example. When the Blue Shirts proclaimed the slogan of a "new life" (hygiene and cleanliness in daily life, etc.) the Communists organised "Committees of Struggle for a New Life" in various enterprises in Shanghai and demanded the improvement of labour conditions from the employers, in conformity with the rules of the "new life." After this the Blue Shirts temporarily ceased their propaganda for a "new life" in a number of enterprises in Shanghai.

3. In his report Comrade Dimitrov very correctly drew attention to the necessity for intensifying the ideological struggle against the fascists. In China, for instance, Chiang Kai-shek and his Blue Shirt League make use of the most backward, mediæval doctrines (Confucianism, Buddhism, etc.) for the purpose of duping the masses. They have distorted Sun Yat-sen's teachings in order to justify their capitulation to imperialism. Many Communists underestimate the importance of the ideological struggle against the Kuomintang and the Blue Shirt League. They think that all these are trifles, that they are all survivals of backwardness and mediævalism and that it is therefore impossible to win over the masses by struggling against these survivals. This is wrong. It is true that Confucianism, Buddhism, etc., are survivals of backwardness and mediævalism, but besides the backward, mediæval, barbarian and aggressive, what else is there that you can find in the ideology of these representatives of decaying and dying classes? That is not the point. The point is that all this old ideology has deep roots in the traditions of the masses and exerts great influence over the masses of the people. It is therefore necessary to take these points of view into considera-

tion. It is necessary patiently to explain to the broad masses of the people the source and the real meaning of these points of view, as well as the attitude and the points of view of the Communists on morality, ethics, etc., in order that the masses should understand that the Communists are the real heirs of all that is best and most valuable in our old traditions and culture and at the same time the creators of a new, higher and better culture and morality. As regards Sun Yat-senism, while pointing out the inconsistency and inadequacy as well as some of the errors of this school of thought, it is necessary to point out to the masses that Sun Yat-sen was a national revolutionary and that in his ideology and especially in his activity there is much that is valuable and much that is good, since what was most important to him, as he himself said in his legacy, is "the struggle for the independence and equality of China." At the same time, the masses must be shown that we—the Communists—are the heirs of Sun Yat-sen's best revolutionary traditions and ideas, since it is only we—the Communists—who tirelessly work and fight for the national emancipation and welfare of our people. On the other hand, such of Sun Yat-sen's disciples as Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Ching-wei, Taig Ti-tao and others are not only the most despicable criminals towards their people and their country, but are also loathsome traitors to the teachings and legacy of Sun Yat-sen. Without a systematic, patient, skilful and intelligent struggle against the Kuomintang, the Blue Shirt League, etc., the Communist Party will not be able to win over to the banner of the revolution those masses who, because of their backwardness, naïveté, illiteracy and historical conditions and traditions, are still under the influence of the Kuomintang and of other parties and groups that are hostile to the people.

IV. THE ROLE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF COLONIAL REVOLUTIONS IN THE NEW ROUND OF REVOLUTIONS AND WARS

Whereas on the eve of and even during the first imperialist World War the colonies and semi-colonies served mainly as objects for division among the imperialists and really acted for the home countries as reserves of raw material, foodstuffs, labour power and military reinforcements, matters are entirely different now, on the eve and in the period of a new round of revolutions and wars. Under the influence of the great October Revolution and the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., under the influence of the general crisis of capitalism and the world economic crisis,

and as a result of the altered relation of class forces and the growth of the proletariat and the Communist Parties, the colonial and semi-colonial peoples will fill and are already filling an important historical role in the great struggle of mankind for the overthrow of imperialism and the victory of the international socialist revolution.

As proof of this, let us take the strike struggles of the working class throughout the world. According to verified statistical data, almost fifty per cent. of the participants in strikes during the past years were the workers of the eastern countries and of Latin America. To prove this, we can take the peasant struggle. Although in many large capitalist countries it is only in the past few years that the peasants are beginning to carry on a partial struggle against imperialist monopoly, against enslavement by the banks and against the bourgeois governments—the peasantry in many colonial and semi-colonial countries, because of its triple exploitation and oppression by the imperialists, the landowners and the capitalists, is constantly rising in armed struggle in defence of its vital interest and constitutes the immediate driving force of the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution. To prove this, we can take the Soviet Revolution in China, which to-day has already become one of the decisive factors in the international revolutionary movement, and which in its further development cannot but shatter the foundation of world imperialism. As a proof we can cite the role of the Indian revolution whose victorious outcome cannot but lead to the downfall of British imperialism.

We must nevertheless mention the fact that not all Communists properly understand and recognise the role and importance of colonial revolutions. This is clearly shown by the attitude of our brother Parties in the capitalist countries towards the Chinese Revolution. Facts show that with the exception of our Japanese brother Party, which is heroically struggling with its utmost power against Japanese imperialism and for the defence of the Chinese people, and with the exception of our American brother Party, which *has begun*—even if it has only just begun, it is nevertheless a beginning—to collect money for the Chinese Red Army, our other brother Parties as far as assistance to the Chinese Revolution is concerned have as yet limited themselves to a certain extent to agitation and propaganda. Meanwhile, the Chinese Revolution is in actual need of support, primarily on the part of the workers of all the large imperialist countries. In his report, Comrade Dimitrov assured us, to the thunderous applause

of the entire Congress, of his firm determination to support the struggle of the Chinese people for its emancipation from all the imperialist beasts of prey and their Chinese agents. The Chinese people has the right to expect practical measures from the world proletariat in support of its liberation movement.

In connection with this, I would like to mention one extremely moving and outstanding act of genuinely revolutionary international solidarity performed by one of our heroic Japanese comrades a month and a half ago. On June 23, 1935, in Eastern Kirin, Lin-an county, a Japanese transport driver drove a motor-lorry loaded with 60,000 machine-gun and rifle bullets, hand-grenades and bombs, to a lonely mountain spot where the anti-Japanese detachments of Chinese partisans usually hid. However, despite a long search he could not find the partisans. The gun-fire of an attacking Japanese detachment could already be heard nearby. It was then that the Japanese driver decided to commit suicide.

The Chinese partisans repulsed the attack of the Japanese troops, and early on the morning of June 24 they found the motor-lorry with the dead driver on a mountain path. In his pocket they found a farewell letter addressed to them. In this letter the unknown Japanese driver wrote:—

“ Dear Comrades of the anti-Japanese people's army and of all anti-Japanese partisan detachments !

“ I have brought you a small present—sixty thousand bullets, and many hand-grenades and bombs. I would very much have liked to speak to you in person of the unbounded love, solidarity and respect which the Communist Party of Japan and the Japanese toiling people feel towards you—national heroes—towards the entire Chinese people who are near and dear to us and towards the valiant brother Communist Party of China, which together with us is carrying on the struggle against the Japanese imperialist vultures. I waited a long time for you, but can wait no longer. I can already hear the gun-fire of the approaching Japanese troops. Only one thing remains for me to do under these circumstances. I cannot and will not return to the Japanese troops. I have decided to kill myself and leave you this little present. I don't know, though, whether you will receive it. I hope you will.

“ I shake your hand.

“ With comradely greetings,

“ One of your Japanese Communist comrades.

“ June 23, 1935.”

This is not a chance act: it is an act of historic significance reflecting the mutual love, respect and solidarity of the two great peoples of the Far East. Yes! We Chinese are against Japanese imperialism, but we love the Japanese people. We are against Japanese imperialism because it oppresses, exploits and annihilates us, the Chinese people, but we love the Japanese people because the Japanese people is the nearest to us, the Chinese people, in point of history and culture, the most closely related in point of mutual understanding and respect. We love the Japanese people because it is just as industrious, noble and intelligent as our Chinese people. Finally, we especially love the Japanese people because together with us it is carrying on a struggle against one and the same common enemy—Japanese imperialism.

Yes! This was only one of our heroic Japanese comrade Communists. There must be many such heroes of revolutionary internationalism in the Japanese and in other Parties. And each of such heroes is worthy of the admiration and respect of the revolutionary and the best minds of the world.

Eternal glory to our immortal hero, the unknown Japanese comrade!

Glory to our heroic Communist Party of Japan which has raised in its ranks such a heroic fighter of revolutionary internationalism!

Glory to the heroic Japanese working class and the Japanese toiling people which was able to produce this great son of whom the whole world may be proud!

Glory to our Leninist-Stalinist Communist International! Only in its ranks could such a truly great hero, who did not spare his life for the great cause of world revolution, be forged and tempered!

I have already pointed out that not all Communists properly estimate and understand the role and the significance of colonial revolutions. This may be shown by the fact that certain Communists who work in capitalist countries usually regard colonial revolutions as something extraneous, or at best, as insignificant, auxiliary forces of the world revolution. This is an entirely incorrect conception of the role and significance of the colonial revolutions of the new epoch—the epoch of world proletarian revolution, one of whose component parts, according to Lenin and Stalin, is the colonial revolution.

Comrade Communists and Social-Democratic workers! The

matter of colonial revolutions is important not only because the peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries constitute an absolute majority of mankind; this matter is important not only because the majority of the colonial peoples are actual toilers; it is important not only because parts of our own working class and its parties live and struggle in these countries. It is important because the actual rulers there are the same enemies of the people against whom and for the overthrow of whose rule we fight in our own home. A disparaging attitude towards colonial revolutions is one of the remnants of Social-Democratic deviations among Communists and advanced workers. We must decisively put an end to this!

In the present serious condition of the international class struggle we must at all costs strive to establish a real fighting world-wide united revolutionary front of the proletariat in capitalist countries with the oppressed peoples of the entire colonial world for a common struggle against the world counter-revolutionary united front of imperialism and its agents.

We have all the fundamental prerequisites for this. We have a common enemy—imperialism, we have a single programme and the same aims of a struggle for socialism, we have the strategy and tactics of the world revolution, we have the strategy of revolutionary struggle—the U.S.S.R., we have the same fortress of party—the Communist International—and we have the same world teacher and leader—the great Stalin!

We should always remember Lenin's last article, his last legacy, in which he gave a clear evaluation of the perspectives for the development of post-war capitalism, the perspectives of struggle between capitalism and socialism, and at the same time evaluated the role and significance of colonial revolutions in the decisive struggle between the socialist and capitalist worlds. At the end of this article Lenin wrote:

"The outcome of the struggle, in the final analysis, depends on the fact that Russia, India, China, etc., constitute an overwhelming majority of the population. And it is precisely this majority of the population that during the last few years is being drawn into the struggle for its emancipation with unusual rapidity, so that in this sense there cannot be the shadow of a doubt as to what the final outcome of the world-wide struggle will be. In this sense, the final victory of socialism is fully and unconditionally assured."¹³

Yes! The final victory of socialism is fully and uncondition-

¹³ Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXVII.

